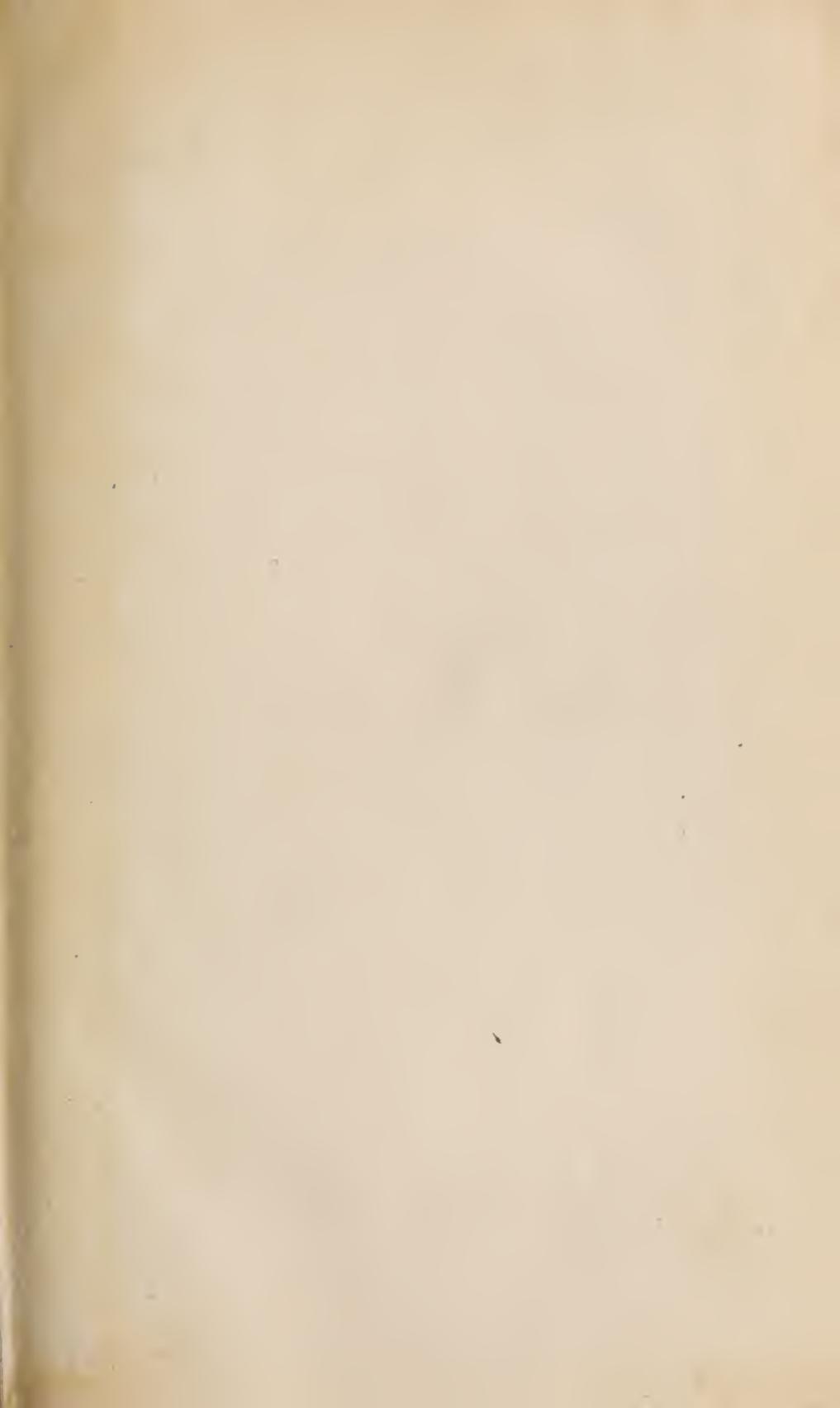


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# THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

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## Annual Meetings of Auxiliary State Colonization Societies.

The Massachusetts Colonization Society held its Twenty-second Annual Meeting at its office, in Boston, May 27, 1863. In the absence of the President, the Hon. A. R. Thompson took the chair. The usual business was transacted. At an adjourned meeting, William Ropes, Esq., the President, occupied the chair, and the Society listened with gratified attention to an address by the Hon. Emory Washburn, LL. D., for which thanks were expressed, and a copy requested for publication. The Rev. J. O. Means opened the meeting with prayer, and closed it with a benediction. We present a large part of this highly interesting report :

## UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND LIBERIA.

The bill authorizing the President to appoint a diplomatic representative to Liberia, which had passed the Senate at our last meeting, passed the House of Representatives, June 3, five days after. Under this act a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation between the United States and the Republic of Liberia was negotiated at London, October 21, 1862, by the President of that Republic and the United States Minister at the Court of St. James. The ratifications were exchanged at London, February 10, and the treaty has been made public by a proclamation of the President of the United States, dated March 18, 1863. It stipulates for entire commercial reciprocity, and puts each party, in its relations to the other, "on a footing of the most favored nation." Meanwhile, the

Liberian Government has appointed the Rev. John B. Pinney, LL. D., the well known Secretary of the New York Colonization Society, as Consul General of that Republic in the United States, and he immediately received his *exequatur* from our Government.

Treaties between Liberia and the kingdoms of Italy, the Netherlands and Denmark, have also been negotiated and ratified.

#### THE SLAVE TRADE TREATY.

On the seventh of June, 1862, the President, by proclamation, made public a treaty with Great Britain, "for the suppression of the African slave trade." By this treaty, the two powers grant to each other the "reciprocal right of search and detention" of vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave trade, "within the distance of two hundred miles from the coast of Africa, and to the southward of the thirty second parallel of north latitude, and within thirty leagues from the coast of the Island of Cuba."

Except in one important point, this treaty is substantially like that proposed by our Government in the administration of President Monroe, in a letter from Mr. Adams, Secretary of State, dated January 29, 1823. That proposal led to the negotiation of a treaty, signed March 13, 1824, which failed of ratification, because the British Government insisted on applying the right of search to the coast of America, for which the present treaty does not stipulate.

The important difference respects the "mixed courts of justice," or, as they are usually called, "courts of mixed commission," for the trial of vessels seized. To such courts, President Monroe objected, on the ground that our Government has no constitutional power to subject the rights of American citizens to the decision of courts composed in part of foreigners, and without appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States.

In view of the constitutional difficulty, the British Government then withdrew its demand for courts of mixed commission; but, for some reason, the two Governments have now agreed to establish them.

Under this treaty, it was expected that the slave trade would be promptly extinguished; but late advices from the coast of Africa represent it as actually increasing. When fully in operation, this treaty may be more effective; but probably the slave trade will not be fully and finally suppressed, so long as the British Government connives at the violation of treaties for its suppression by that of Spain.

#### LIBERIA—INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

The agriculture and commerce of Liberia appear to be making commendable progress. The exports of sugar from Monrovia, during the fiscal year ending September 30, 1862, were 14,892 pounds; for the next six months, 31,331 pounds, of which 28,176 pounds were to the United States, and 2,708 pounds to Sierra

Leone. Of coffee, 9,102 pounds were exported to the United States, and 230 to Sierra Leone. How much of either was retained for home consumption, we have no means of estimating. The total of exports from Monrovia for the first of these periods was \$148,204 50; for the second, \$72,757 82. From the five other ports of entry, we have no returns; and of the trade at the numerous landing places for boats, where foreign vessels trade with both natives and Liberians, no conjecture can be formed, either of the exports or imports. The Legislature, at its last session, passed an act, restricting the trade of foreign vessels to ports of entry, from and after January 1, 1865. This restriction will enable the Government to collect duties on all imports, which has hitherto been impossible.

Sugar is the leading article cultivated by the Liberians for export. Its cultivation is extending into the leeward counties. "The Government," the President states in his message, "has, during the year, imported six sugar mills, which have been judiciously distributed among the several counties, and it is the intention to import others, for the convenience of our farmers, as soon as it shall be practicable." These, with those already in operation, and those about to be introduced by individuals, will accommodate a largely increased production.

To the cultivation of coffee, a new impulse seems to have been given by the late visit and public addresses of Edward S. Morris, Esq., of Philadelphia, and his introduction of machines for hulling and cleaning. The excellent quality of Liberian coffee is well known. The average export price of the 9,102 pounds sent to the United States since last September was about twenty-two cents. It is of several varieties, one of which is identical with the Mocha, and another closely resembles the Java. Twenty-four varieties, it is stated, were lately obtained at Sinoe, from trees transplanted from the forest.

The samples of Liberian cotton shown at the International Exhibition at London were highly approved. But of that Exhibition we must speak more particularly.

#### ENGLISH ESTIMATES OF LIBERIA.

On the "Catalogues of Liberian Articles at the International Exhibition, London, 1862," the entries number 123, some of which include several articles. Cotton, coffee and sugar are prominent. There are six varieties of fibre for cordage, nine varieties of timber, six of vegetable oils, six of roots and leaves for dyeing different colors, four of leaves used for mordants for different colors, cam-wood for dyeing, ivory, turtle-shell, india-rubber, rice and other articles for food, ginger, cocoa, African spice and pepper, pea-nuts, pine apple and other preserves, iron ore and other minerals, and a variety of manufactured articles, both native and Liberian. The collection received honorable notice at the meeting of the Society

for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, May 21, Lord Alfred S. Churchill, M. P., in the chair, from Mr. G. F. Wilson, F. R. S., who had examined it in the discharge of his duty as one of the jurors at that exhibition. Lord Ashburton is President of that Society.

At that meeting a paper was read by Gerard Ralston, Esq., Liberian Consul General, "On the Republic of Liberia, its products and resources." It was followed by addresses from President Benson, of Liberia, ex-President Roberts, Col. O'Connor, ex-Governor of Gambia, Capt. Close, R. N., formerly commanding on that coast, and others; after which the chairman said "he was sure they would readily accord to Mr. Gerard Ralston their best thanks for the able paper he had read that evening, as well as for having initiated a most interesting discussion upon Africa and Liberia. \* \* \* He had never presided over a meeting with more gratification than he had done that evening, in which they had gained so much information upon Africa, and in which they had had not only specimens of the produce of the country, but also specimens of the men of Africa, who were capable of growing it, and who had shown them by the intelligence and education they had exhibited, to what a degree of perfection, and how much higher in the social scale they would attain, if they were afforded the opportunity." The vote of thanks was passed, and the proceedings were published in the Journal of the Society for May 23.

Of some of the articles exhibited, Mr. Ralston writes to the Secretary of this Society: "The timber of Liberia, such as we saw at the International Exhibition, 1862, is of excellent quality, and would be much consumed if it could be obtained here." "For coffee, sugar, and particularly cotton, the demand is for inexhaustible quantities. All the Lancashire spinners say that the Liberian cotton is the best substitute for the middling New Orleans quality, of which four millions of bales are annually wanted in Europe."

#### ENGLISH ARRANGEMENTS FOR WEST AFRICAN TRADE.

Of the West African Company, the prospects is before us. Its capital is £250,000 or about \$1,250,000, in 25,000 shares of £10 each: only half to be issued at first. Mr. Ralston is one of its directors "The object of the company is to establish trading stations, factories, and depots on the coast of Western Africa, and by means of organized agencies, to bring down and collect for shipment at such stations, the valuable products of the interior; to import goods, and to introduce machinery for cleaning and pressing cotton, and for other purposes; and generally to enter into commercial relations with the native traders, by means of barter, traffic, or otherwise; and thereby to open up, in exchange for British manufactures, a practically illimitable market for cotton and other products, and to secure their transmission to the ports of the United Kingdom." This company "will commence opera-

tions under peculiarly favorable circumstances, owing to the fact that their agencies on the West Coast of Africa are already organized, and competent acclimatized persons, native merchants and others at Abbeokuta, Elmina, Lagos, Cape Palmas, and on the Niger river, are ready to act in behalf of the company, the moment it commences business."

Its agency at Cape Palmas connects this company with Liberia; and thence its field of operations, as at present arranged, stretches eastward, about a thousand miles, to the Bight of Benin, and thence some hundreds of miles up the Niger.

We have also the prospectus of the London and West African Bank. Its capital is to be £500,000, in shares of £100 each. It is to have a chief office in London, and branches at the British settlements at Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Lagos. It may commence business when about \$75,000 is paid in, to be increased with the increase of business to \$125,000: the stockholders, however, being liable to the full amount of their subscriptions. The directors have satisfied themselves that the business between London and that coast is large enough to make such investments profitable, and will rapidly increase. The branches of this bank are all in British settlements; but Liberians, if they should need accommodation from it, can easily obtain it from the branch at Sierra Leone. Probably it will not be needed.

The London and Liberian Banking and Commercial Institution will be able to furnish all the facilities of that kind, which the business of the Republic can require. We have not its prospectus: but we understood some months ago, that capital to a large amount — more than a million of dollars, as we recollect, was already secured. We learn from the message of President Benson, that it would ask for an act of incorporation by the Legislature of Liberia at its late session; that it would offer ready employment to great numbers of emigrants, would facilitate agricultural as well as commercial operations, and the President expected, would give a great impetus to every branch of industry, and promote the rapid development of the resources of the country. The plans had been laid in London, in consultation with him and ex-President Roberts, who will be connected with the management of its interests in Liberia. The President recommended that an act of incorporation be granted; but we have yet no complete list of the acts passed at that session.

When these companies are in operation, the industry and commerce of Liberia will no longer be restricted by the want of capital. The difficulty will be in the foreign ownership of so much of the capital, and in the want of a more numerous civilized population to take advantage of it. That these arrangements will carry so much of the productions of Liberia to England, can scarcely be regarded as a disadvantage, as England is their best market, except for the

purchase of certain articles, which must be procured in the United States.

#### NORTHWESTERN BOUNDARY.

An important point settled by President Benson with the British Government during his visit to London, was that of the north-western boundary of the Republic, separating it from the adjacent British possessions. The Republic had already, by purchase from the natives, the whole coast to the Shebar or Sherbro river; but for some thirty miles that coast was only the "Turner Peninsula," a sandy strip, not more than three or four miles wide, between the ocean and the Boom Kittam river, beyond which everything was indefinite, and open to British occupancy and acquisition. A boundary has now been agreed upon, extending sixty miles inland, of which the Jong river is to be a part, and if found long enough, the whole. This gives the site of the well known Mendi mission, and most of its out-stations to Liberia. Of course this agreement binds only the two nations who have made it, and the native title is yet to be acquired; but that can easily be done, whenever the Republic needs the land.

#### EDUCATION.

One of the most hopeful indications is found in the action of the Government in behalf of education. During the year 1862, the President informs us in his annual message, "The common day schools authorized at the last session to be increased and put into operation in each county, were established as early as the several school committees could engage teachers and procure books. They number in the aggregate sixteen schools, to be increased by the number to be established in Grand Bassa county." The establishment of this system of common schools, to take the place of those sustained and controlled by foreign missionary societies, and open to the children both of native and emigrant parents, is an important movement. The Republic ought to have the control of the education of its own children. There is some difficulty in procuring teachers, as competent persons can obtain higher wages in the service of the Government and of merchants. This want can be supplied only by higher institutions of learning, as it soon will be.

#### LIBERIA COLLEGE.

Our last report announced the completion of the buildings of Liberia College, the collection of a library and mineralogical cabinet, the inauguration of the college, January 23, 1862, and the delay in the organization of classes, caused by the appointment of two of the professors as commissioners from the Liberian Government to the colored people of the United States. During this suspension, a number of young men have been receiving instruction from a teacher temporarily employed.

The trustees of the college, at their annual meeting at Monrovia, January 13, 1863, decided that the first regular college term should commence on Monday, February 2. Seven young men, having proper credentials, were examined in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics, and admitted as members of college. Another was added a few days afterwards.

Three of these were supported, during their preparation for college, from the income of the Bloomfield fund, held in trust for promoting education in Africa by the New York Colonization Society. That Society has voted to continue their support while members of college. The other five are not understood to need pecuniary aid.

There are others, in the different counties, who are anxious to enter college, and whose parents would gladly send them, but are unable to meet the expense. For one of these, an orphan, well recommended for talents and character, whose grandfather, an aged Methodist missionary, is willing to pay fifty dollars, which is all he can, towards his support—provision has been made in this city. For the others provision is yet to be made. They will need from fifty to an hundred or an hundred and fifty dollars each, annually. Donations of permanent funds, for scholarships, yielding such amounts, are highly desirable. Till they can be obtained, the want may be met by donations of smaller sums for present use.

Others were desirous to enter, whose preparatory studies were not completed. The trustees of the college, therefore, petitioned the Legislature for aid in establishing a Preparatory Department. The Legislature made an appropriation of five hundred dollars for that purpose for the present year.\* The need of this Preparatory Department will, of course, be only temporary, as in our western colleges. The Monrovia Academy has already advertised its readiness to fit a few young men for college. The Alexander High School is to be re-established at Harrisburg, at the rapids of the St. Paul's river, about twenty miles from Monrovia; a most excellent location. These, with the Episcopal High School at Cape Palmas, and other institutions, existing and about to exist, will relieve the college from the task of fitting its own students for admission.

This appropriation shows, in the Legislature and their constituents, an enlightened public spirit, which will not fail to crown our labors in this direction with success. The Liberians evidently receive what we are doing for the promotion of good learning among them as assistance in a work of indispensable importance, and not as taking a burdensome and costly duty off from their

\* A letter from the President, dated April 30, states that there were then nine students in the college proper, and eight in the Preparatory Department. The library was arranged on its shelves, and the minerals in cases under glass.

hands. Among such a people, beyond all doubt, a college may be successfully established and made to flourish.

The college still needs a Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, including the physical sciences generally. A suitable professor might be found; but to render his appointment safe, or even prudent, the Trustees of Donations need an endowment of at least fifteen thousand dollars, or annual subscriptions to the amount of the income of such an endowment. Till one of these can be had, the duties of that department must be performed as they can, in the time which the present professors can manage to spare from their appropriate labors.

This field of labor for the good of Liberia, of Africa, and of all persons of African descent, invites even more urgently than ever before, the active liberality of the friends of learning and piety. We cannot believe that they will fail to enter it. They surely will not leave the college with its means of instruction seriously defective. They will not leave African young men of good character and noble aspirations, whether the sons of emigrants or of natives, without that moderate pecuniary aid, necessary to place its privileges within their reach.

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### New York State Colonization Society.

#### THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

This meeting was postponed from the 11th to the 19th of May, when the election of officers took place. The Rev. Thomas De Witt was chosen President, and the Rev. John B. Pinney, LL. D., appointed Corresponding Secretary. We make the following extracts from the Annual Report:

'The visit of three Commissioners from Liberia, and the lectures, circulars, and publications which the public received from them, evidently had a very encouraging effect on many in the United States, and awakened an interest even in the West India Islands and South America.

The friends of Colonization had great reason to rejoice in the earnest friendliness with which President Lincoln regarded Colonization, and his frank and open avowal of his opinions. He may never accomplish all he hoped or desired in that direction, but he none the less deserves and receives our grateful recognition of what he desired to do.

The laws of Congress, providing a fund to aid in colonizing the free people of color and the slaves redeemed by the Government in the District of Columbia, have had but little effect, owing to their unwillingness to leave America—an unwillingness increased

by the hopes inspired in their minds by parties who oppose all Colonization of the colored race, or by those who, for the present, desire them to remain and join the national army. A few, however, accepted the opportunity thus presented, and were among those who took passage for Liberia in the bark *Justina*, at Baltimore, June, 1862.

#### FUNDS AND AGENCIES.

The reliance of the benevolent societies for means to carry on their operations has ever been on the liberal donations of individuals, voluntary collections of churches, and collections by agents.

The number of emigrants ready to go to Liberia the past year has been so small as to diminish the demand for a large income for that purpose, and excepting with an expectation of sending a large company of refugees or contrabands, which was entertained for a short time last autumn, no special appeal for funds was made. It was understood, also, that an unusual income from the legacies of our former President, the late Anson G. Phelps, Sr., and his son, would be available for our treasury.

By reference to the Treasurer's report, it appears that the amount received by him from ordinary sources was as follows:

Legacies .....	87,523	65
Donations .....	2,764	51
Church collections.....	800	32
Agencies .....	1,080	32

Income from education fund, viz :

Bloomfield estate .....	1,343	09
Fulton professorship .....	1,837	05

The steamer *Seth Grosvenor*, as has been stated in former reports, cost considerably more than was anticipated, and a temporary loan from the education fund to the general fund was made to meet that unexpected excess. The Board, in view of the uncertainty of returns from the steamer, have resolved to set apart all the income legacies toward liquidating the temporary loan due the education fund from the general fund, and thus used \$7,584 56 the past year.

Recent information has been communicated to the Treasurer of a legacy of \$1,000 bequeathed by Miss Lavinia Porter, of Niagara Falls, N. Y., and also of several thousand dollars by the will of a lady in Utica, N. Y. God does not leave Ethiopia without testimony of his favor and of his memory of ancient promises, while thus moving pious hearts to witness from their graves an interest in her redemption.

The Society confidently relies on the liberality of its friends and the churches for the moderate amount needful for its limited operations for the coming year.

## EDUCATION FUNDS AND ENDOWMENTS.

The Board of Managers have had occasion to change the form of some of the investments of the education funds during the year. They have received from personal interviews with Hon. J. J. Roberts, President of the College, and Professors Blyden and Crummell, as also by letters recently arrived from Liberia, urgent requests for endowments of scholarships in the college. But few young men in Liberia have parents wealthy enough to bear their support during a college course. Some of the most talented are sons of poor men. Perhaps no effort of this Society would be more lastingly useful to the Republic than one in this direction.

Our experience in the appliance of the Bloomfield education fund affords abundant proof of the need and benefit of such permanent aid as can alone be secured by endowments.

The Board of Managers have resolved to provide for the salary of Rev. Edward W. Blyden from the income of the Joseph Fulton Professorship fund. When that fund was received from our deceased friend, the stocks were not selling at par; and with his consent, the income from them was to accumulate until the whole should amount to the original subscription. The rapid rise in values of stocks the past year has more than met this purpose, and a surplus now remains applicable to scholarships, or other useful purposes connected with education. If to this we could this year add twenty endowed scholarships for the college, its interests could be placed on the firmest basis. The scholarships might be awarded as prizes for superior merit in studies and in conduct to youths struggling for an education.

## EMANCIPATION IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

By an act of Congress, passed in the winter of 1862, \$1,000,000 was appropriated to compensate owners of slaves to be manumitted in the District of Columbia.

The average allowance for each slave was 300. As elsewhere noticed, the liberal provision made by Congress for their emigration, scarcely produced any effect; most have remained and found ready employment among their former owners; nor thus far have we heard any charge of general insubordination or indolence made against them. How wonderful would it be, if, in the development of our great struggle for national life, the thousands, not to say millions, who will be set free, shall so conduct as to reconcile the public sentiment of the South to their employment at wages, and thus that demand for their removal, which was once supposed an inexorable condition of their emancipation, shall give place to a sentiment in favor of retaining them here as a laboring population.

Our appeals to them to look to the great African continent, and unite in an effort to raise the barbarous millions there, will, per-

haps, meet with a calmer consideration, and thousands be induced to join the Republic of Liberia, from the highest motives of Christian duty and pride of race.

#### THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

The numerous recaptives which had been landed in the Republic proved a quiet, industrious population, and are represented as rapidly acquiring our language and mechanic arts, and not a few have been instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, and received into church membership.

An increased amount of land has been planted in sugar-cane, and still more has been planted in cotton and coffee. With these three great staples at command, and with a climate and soil adapted to them, the people of Liberia may, with moderate industry, expect a rapid accumulation of wealth.

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#### New Hampshire Colonization Society.

The Thirty-ninth Annual Meeting of this Society was held in Concord, at Rev. Dr. Flanders' Church, on Thursday evening, June 11th. In the absence of the President, the Hon. N. G. Upham, LL. D., a Vice President, took the chair. A letter from Rev. Charles Burroughs, D. D., President of the Society, was read expressive of his regret at his necessary absence from the meeting, and of his lively interest in the object of the Society, and his profound convictions of the great importance of its work in the exigencies of our day.

The Rev. Franklin Butler, agent of the American Colonization Society for Northern N. E., made some encouraging statements concerning his labors in the State during the past year, referring to his cordial reception, and to the constant interest which some of the clergy and people evince in the work of the Society. He represented affairs as exceedingly prosperous in Liberia, and the Society which gave it birth, as having been favored, even in these troublesome times, with the munificence of many steadfast and liberal friends; so that it still lives, and as to its finances, is not in debt.

A legacy of \$1,000 has been left to the Society by the late Hon. William Bixby, of Francestown, N. H., one of the original founders of the N. H. Colonization Society, and a most earnest and liberal patron of the Society from the beginning—showing his faith by his works—all along to the last hour of his life. He said that though emigration to Liberia is to some extent checked temporarily by the disturbances of the country, yet about one hundred

people of color have embarked for that Republic since the last annual meeting of the N. H. Society, and that the prospect now is, that the numbers of emigrants, especially of an intelligent, enterprising character from the Northern States, will steadily increase, unless unforeseen events should prevent, and that all the means which the friends of Liberia can command will be needed for answering the calls upon the Society.

The Rev. C. W. Flanders, D. D., of Concord, offered a resolution to the effect, that the Colonization Society, by its civilizing and missionary work in Africa, and its benign effect upon the condition and prospects of the men of color everywhere on the globe, is worthy of the sympathy and support of all good men.

This resolution he supported with a few well-chosen effective words, which made us wonder that any patriot or philanthropist, and much more that any Christian should ever hold the cause of the Society in doubt. He said that this enterprise is wholly above polities—resting upon the broad and catholic basis of philanthropy, humanity, and religion; and that he could see no good reason why its claims should not at proper times be urged from the pulpit, and that in this time of trouble the eyes of Christians may well be directed to the work of this Society as one of the beneficent instrumentalities which Divine Providence has raised up for the highest welfare of Africa and her children.

Joseph B. Walker, Esq., of Concord, offered a resolution, which was passed, that the clergymen of New Hampshire be respectfully requested to present to their people the cause of this Society at some time during this year.

Mr. Walker forcibly argued that the work of this Society is so purely philanthropic and missionary, so necessary to the best welfare of Africa and her descendants, and so highly important in the exigencies of our time, that it should have a place along side of the great benevolent enterprises of the day, and be regularly presented to the people through the ministrations of the pulpit.

After the election of officers for the ensuing year, among which are Rev. Charles Burroughs, D. D., of Portsmouth, President; L. D. Stevens, Esq., of Concord, Treasurer; S. G. Lane, Esq., of Concord, Secretary, the friends that were present separated with good courage for the labors of another year.

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[From the *Athenæum*.]

Despatches from Commodore Wilmot respecting his Visit to the King of Dahomey, in December, 1862, and January, 1863.

[PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.]

These despatches throw some new light on that strange region well known as the Garden of Africa, and give a graphic account of its extraordinary sovereign. The King of Dahomey has recently obtained the reputation of being one of the chief promoters of slave

traffic; hence English cruisers and English missionaries have been hovering about his territories. Towards the end of last year, Commodore Wilmot, of the Rattlesnake, was informed by the Rev. P. W. Bernasko, Wesleyan Missionary in the English fort, that the King of Dahomey was most anxious to see somebody of consideration from England, "a real Englishman," with whom he might converse on the affairs of his country. Having mentioned this to the Yavogah of Whydah, the latter said, "If you will come back again in seven days, I will send to the king, and let you know if he will see you." He accordingly sent to the king, saying that Mr. Wilmot was a "good and proper person, come out as a messenger from the Queen of England." Before making up his mind to accept the king's invitation, there were many points, Mr. Wilmot tells us, to be considered. It had been said that our late attack on Porto Novo had enraged the king's mind to such an extent that he had expressed a strong desire to lay hands upon an English officer, in order to avenge the destruction of that place. Porto Novo belongs to his brother; and the European residents at Whydah had spread the most alarming reports of the disposition of the king towards Englishmen, and his hatred of them. But after mature consideration, he resolved to go, and place implicit trust in the king's good faith.

Having made preparations for an absence of fourteen days, he landed on the 22d of December, in company with Capt. Luce and Dr. Haran, of the Brisk, who had volunteered to accompany him. The Rattlesnake and the Brisk were sent to cruise, and both vessels were ordered to return on the 14th of the next month. The three Englishmen were conveyed in hammocks across the lagoon and through the wet and marshy ground, almost impassable in the rainy months, to a large tree at the entrance of Whydah, where certain ceremonies were gone through as a welcome. They were received most cordially by the yavogah and other officials, with drums beating, colors flying, muskets firing, cabocers as well as soldiers dancing, and the latter singing warlike songs. "We were also treated," remarks the commodore, with the simplicity of a man accustomed to strange sights, "to the manœuvres of a slave hunt." The yavogah and chiefs accompanied them to the English fort, where the king's stick was presented, and the healths of the Queen of England and the King of Dahomey were drunk.

Having secured hammock men, carriers for luggage, and guides, and being furnished with a bodyguard of soldiers, they started the following afternoon, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Bernasko and his servants. They arrived at Cannah, eight miles from Abomey, in the evening, when the king was holding his court. At all places on the road the head men turned out with their soldiers, and received the strangers with firing, dancing and the usual presents of water, fowls, and goats. Speeches were made expressive of their desire to go to war and cut off heads for their masters. The war dance was performed by women and children, and motions made with swords,

as if in the act of decapitating their enemies. This show of war did not interfere with hospitality, for at the villages where they slept, comfortable quarters had been provided, and water furnished. The latter is, however, denounced by the Commodore as very bad, scarce, and unwholesome. The king had sent three of his sticks by special messengers to meet them on their way, with inquiries about their health; and at ten o'clock on the morning of 10th he summoned them to his reception. They went in full dress, and remained under some large trees, in an open space. After a short time, the chiefs arrived in succession with their followers, according to their rank, and were duly introduced, the same drumming, firing, dancing, and singing being carried on as at Whydah. When this, which occupied a considerable time, was over, the Commodore and his companions got into the hammocks and went to the palace, outside of which, in a large square, were assembled all the chiefs with their people, as well as large bodies of the king's soldiers. The gaudy colors of the large umbrellas, the dresses of the head men, the firing of the muskets, the songs of the people, the beating of the war drums, the savage gestures of the soldiers, and their ferocious appearance, made the travelers at first a little uncomfortable. All, however, treated them with marked respect, while, according to custom, they were carried three times round the square. After the third time, they got down and entered the palace-gates, passing through a row of chiefs on each side. They found the court yard of the palace presenting a spectacle not easily forgotten. At the further end was a large building, of some pretensions to beauty in that country, being made of thatch, and supported by columns of wood, roughly cut. In front of this, and close to it, leaving an open space for admission to the king, was placed a large array of variegated umbrellas, to be used only by the sovereign. Near these were congregated his principal chiefs. On either side of him, under the building, were his wives, to the number of about one hundred, gayly dressed, most of them young and exceedingly pretty.

The king was reclining on a raised dais about three feet high, covered with crimson cloth, smoking his pipe, whilst one of his wives held a glass sugar-basin as a royal spittoon. He was dressed very plainly, the upper part of his body being bare, with only a silver chain holding some fetich charm round his neck, and an unpretending cloth around his waist. The left side of the court yard was filled with Amazons, from the walls up to the king's presence, all armed with various weapons, such as muskets, swords, gigantic razors for cutting off heads, bows and arrows, and blunderbusses. Their large war-drum was conspicuous, being surrounded with human skulls. The visitors advanced with due form and ceremony to where the king was sitting; and when close to him, all the respect due to royalty was paid by bowing, which he gracefully acknowledged by bowing himself, and waiving his hand.

Having sat down close to him, in chairs that had been brought

from Whydah, the conversation commenced with the usual compliments. He asked about their health, and how they got on during the journey. He then inquired about the Queen and all her family, asking many questions about the form of Government in England. Mr. Wilmot said the Queen sent her compliments to him, and hoped he was quite well, at which he seemed much pleased; but this being only a visit of introduction, nothing political was entered into.

The king then gave orders for his Amazons to perform a variety of movements, which they did most creditably. They loaded and fired quickly, singing songs all the time. In Mr. Wilmot's opinion they are a very fine body of women, and are very active in their movements, being remarkably well limbed and strong. No one is allowed to approach them except the king, who lives amongst them. They are first in honor and importance. All messages are carried by them to and from the king and his chiefs. Every one kneels down while delivering a message, and the men touch the ground with their heads and lips before the king. The women do not kiss the ground nor sprinkle themselves with dust as the men do. When a man appears before the king he is obliged to perform the ceremony of covering his head and upper part of his body with dust before he rises, as much as to say, "I am nothing but dirt before thee!" Though the Commodore admits that this is rather a degrading spectacle, he says, "but, after all, it is only the custom of the country." After the Amazons had finished the manœuvres, they came to the strangers and gave them their compliments, singing songs of praise of their master, and saying they were ready for war, suiting the action to the word by going through the motions of cutting off heads. The king then introduced all his princes, chiefs, and warriors, in succession, according to rank; then the chiefs and captains of the Amazons; then the princesses, daughters of the late king; in fact, he brought up, and named one by one, everybody of importance in his kingdom, including the mother of the king and the mothers of his principal chiefs.

After each group was introduced, a bottle of rum was given, the usual present after such a ceremony, and a signal that they had permission to retire. To the head chiefs a glassful each was presented, which was drunk by themselves, or given to one of their followers. When once in the king's presence, or in his capital, no one, European or native, can leave without this customary present. After all the presentations, the king called the Amazons again to salute the strangers, and then offered them water and spirits, which he drank with them, and thus terminated the first visit. No one is permitted to see the king drink; all turn their faces away, and a large cloth is held up by his wives while the royal mouth takes in the liquid.

When the visitors were going away the king got up, it being almost dark, and walked beside them across the court yard, through the

gates, and nearly half a mile on the road towards their house, which was considered a great compliment. The whole court followed, with the exception of the Amazons and the wives, who never join in such processions. The soldiers shouted and sang their war songs, while certain chiefs went in front of the king to clear the road, and point out any dirt or inequalities of ground before the feet royal. The sight was imposing, and impressed Mr. Wilmot with the power of the king amongst his people. He seemed much feared as well as much beloved. Indeed, he appears to have produced no small effect on the Commodore himself, who describes him as a very fine-looking man, upwards of six feet high, broad-shouldered, and with a pleasant countenance when he likes. His eyes are bloodshot. He is a great smoker, but does not indulge much in the bottle. His skin is much lighter than that of most of his people, resembling the copper color of the American Indians. He is very active, and fond of dancing and singing, which he practices in public during the "customs." He is an admirer of the fair sex, of whom he possesses as many as he likes. He is about forty-three years old. Before leaving the palace, the king saluted the Queen with twenty-one guns, from pieces of all sizes, the largest being a three-pounder. These guns are usually carried on men's heads, and occasionally placed on the ground and fired off. The king also saluted his visitors with nine guns. The number of guns fired was shown by a corresponding number of musket-balls, produced in an iron pot.

On arriving at their quarters after this day's ceremony, the prince, who had accompanied them from Whydah, asked for a present for the soldiers and Amazons. He said he hoped they would not make him ashamed before his people, as he had brought the party up, and was ordered to attend upon them. Mr. Wilmot immediately acquiesced, and made them a handsome present, which was thankfully acknowledged. Whenever strangers meet, they either drink with each other on their first arrival, or when they are about to depart. Of course our countrymen had always to submit to this, which caused a great drain upon their resources. Next day the king's jesters danced before them. One of the Amazons, in firing, had injured her hand very much by the bursting of the musket, and a messenger arrived from the king with a request that the doctor might be allowed to attend her. This was granted, and Dr. Haran saw her twice a day until the wound was healed, and a perfect cure made. The wound was a very severe one, and Mr. Wilmot thinks it was fortunate for the Amazon that the skill of Dr. Haran was called in.

The Commodore has no small opinion of his own tact. He says: "I have reason to believe that my line of conduct was rewarded by the whole country being laid open before us, and the whole people, king, chiefs, and all, being our friends. The greater part of what we saw, I firmly believe, was entirely got up for my sake, and certainly no white man ever saw what we did, or were treated with such marked consideration.

While at Cannah the king invited them on the afternoon of two days to witness the firing of his Amazons and soldiers with ball at a mark. They found him about two miles outside the town in a very large open space, which had been cleared away, surrounded by his chiefs and people, to the number of several thousand, preparing to practice at a number of goats, which were tied to stakes, driven in the ground at intervals of about fifteen yards, under a mud wall of considerable length, and about ten feet high. The king received them very cordially, and told the prince to place them under his own umbrellas, in a convenient place for seeing everything. The firing commenced, and the king's bodyguard of Amazons distinguished themselves as good shots. The king fired several times himself. The soldiers fired also exceedingly well, and taking into consideration the quality of the flint musket and the iron ball, which is jagged, and fits loosely in the barrel, the display they made astonished the strangers. Several goats were killed, and on the second day four of those despatched were sent to Mr. Wilmot as a present. These had been selected by the Amazons as a particular present to the visitors, and until they were killed no other goat was fired at. The firing was very rapid, and the ladies' weapons were well handled. Some heads were cut off during the night, and this appears to be the practice whenever the king returns to his capital. Eight heads were in the doorway of the place on the following morning, and more of these trophies were inside. Mr. Wilmot and his companions remained in Abomey five weeks, and daily witnessed scenes of a very extraordinary character, such as the dancing of the Amazons, their warlike songs, the dancing and songs of the soldiers, the distribution of presents to the princes, chiefs, captains, and head men of the troops, the "passing" of the king's drummers, of the captains of the Amazons, of the king's jesters, and a variety of other people which appear before the king during the "customs."

Upon the last day but one of the "customs," late in the afternoon, a large body of soldiers, with their attendants carrying their camp equipage, made their appearance from a place about three days' journey in the interior, belonging to the king. These men had been sent to the assistance of a small town belonging to a chief on friendly terms with the king, who had been threatened by the Abbeokutans, and who had applied to Abomey for assistance. The king had granted the assistance required, and despatched two of his head warriors with about six hundred men for this purpose. When these men arrived at the town, they found that the Abbeokutans, hearing of their approach, had run away, and hence their return to Abomey. As usual, on their return the king made them a long speech, and gave them presents.

On the Saturday, six days after the English party's arrival at Abomey, the king saw them privately in his own palace, and they gave him the presents brought up for the occasion. He was attended by six of his privy council, his most trusted friends; also by five of

his principal wives. He would only receive the presents from Mr. Wilmot's hands. He gave him first the picture of the Queen, saying that her majesty had sent this out as a mark of her friendship, and her wish to be on good terms with him. He took it in his hands, and admired it very much. In this picture the Queen is represented in her coronation robes, with crown on her head and sceptre in her hand. The frame is very handsome, and the picture is a large one. After looking at it attentively, he asked many questions concerning the dress, and then said, "From henceforth the Queen of England and the King of Dahomey are one. The Queen is the greatest sovereign in Europe, and I am king of the blacks. I will hold the head of the kingdom of Dahomey, and you shall hold the tail."

Mr. Wilmot then gave him a few small presents from himself, with which he was very much delighted, and grasped him warmly by the hand. His council participated in these feelings, and said, "At last good friends have met." Then commenced the delivery of the message which the Commodore thought it his duty to lay before the king. The first subject was the slave trade, on which he argued apparently at great length. He then gave the king an admonition about human sacrifices, and the threatened occupation of Abbeokuta, winding up with the suggestion of an embassy, an extension of trade and missionary schools. The king listened attentively to the message, and made several remarks during its delivery. The usual ceremony of drinking was not forgotten, and he accompanied Mr. Wilmot through the gates of the palace far on the road to his quarters, amidst the cheers of the soldiers and people. They remained a month in Abomey after the delivery of this message, in consequence of the "customs" going on. Nothing could persuade the king to let them go until this was over, as he was most anxious that they should see everything and report it.

They saw the royal treasures pass round in the interior of the palace, preceded by all the principal ministers, princes, and chiefs, in their court costume. The captains of the Amazons passed round in the same way. The costume worn, the different colors displayed according to etiquette, the ornaments of silver round the necks, with an occasional skull at the waist-belt of the Amazons, and the half-savage appearance of all, notwithstanding their good manners and modest behaviour, were peculiarly interesting. It was during the procession of the king's treasures, that the "human sacrifices" came round, after the cowries, cloths, tobacco, and rum had passed, which were to be thrown to the people. A long string of live fowls on poles appeared, followed by goats in baskets, then by a bull, and lastly, half a dozen men, with hands and feet tied, and a cloth fastened in a peculiar way round the head.

A day or two after these processions, the king appeared on the first platform; there were four of these platforms, two large, and two small. His father never had than more two, but he endeavors to excel him in everything, and to do as much again as he did. If

his father gave one sheep as a present, he gives two. The sides of all these platforms were covered with crimson and other colored cloths, with curious devices, and figures of alligators, elephants, and snakes; the large ones are in the form of a square, with a neat building of considerable size, also covered over, running along the whole extent of one side. The ascent was by a rough ladder covered over, and the platform itself was neatly floored with dried grass, and perfectly level. Dispersed all over this were chiefs under the king's umbrellas, sitting down, and at the further end from the entrance the king stood surrounded by a chosen few of his Amazons. In the centre of this side of the platform was a round tower, about thirty feet high, covered with cloths, bearing similar devices as the other parts. This is a new idea of the king's, and from the top of this tower the victims are thrown to the people below. When the king is ready, he commences by throwing cowries to the people in bundles, as well as separately. The scramble begins, and the noise occasioned by the men fighting to catch these is very great. Thousands are assembled with nothing on but a waist-clout, and a small bag for the cowries. Sometimes they fight by companies, one company against the other, according to the king's fancy; and the leaders are mounted on the shoulders of their people. After the cowries, cloths are thrown, occasioning the greatest excitement. While this lasts, the king gives them to understand that if any man is killed, nothing will be done to the man who is the cause of it, as all is supposed to be fair fighting with hands, no weapons being allowed. Then the chiefs are called, and cowries and cloths are given to them. The king begins by throwing away everything himself; then his Amazons take it up for a short time, when the king renews the game, and finishes the sport, changing his position from one place to another along the front part of the platform. When all that the king intends throwing away for the day is expended, a short pause ensues, and by-and-by, are seen inside the platform the poles with live fowls (all cocks) at the end of them, in procession towards the round tower. Three men mount to the top, and receive, one by one, all these poles, which are precipitated on the people beneath. A large hole has been prepared, and a rough block of wood ready, upon which the necks of the victims are laid, and their heads chopped off, the blood from the body being allowed to fall into the hole. After the fowls, came the goats, then the bull, and lastly, the men, who are tumbled down in the same way. All the blood is mixed together in the hole, and remains exposed with the block till night. The bodies of the men are dragged along by the feet, and maltreated on the way, by being beaten with sticks, hands in some cases cut off, and large pieces cut out of their bodies, which are held up. They are then taken to a deep pit and thrown in. The heads alone are preserved by being boiled, so that the skull may be seen in a state of great perfection. The heads of the human victims killed are first placed in baskets, and exposed for a

short time. This was carried on for two days. Mr. Wilmot would not witness the slaying of these men on the first day, as he was very close to them, and did not think it right to sanction by his presence such sacrifices. He, therefore, got up and went into a tent, and when all was over returned to his seat. One of the victims was saved :

“ While sitting in the tent a messenger arrived, saying, ‘ The king calls you.’ I went and stood under the platform where he was. Tens of thousands of people were assembled; not a word, not a whisper was heard. I saw one of the victims ready for slaughter on the platform, held by a narrow strip of white cloth under his arms. His face was expressive of the deepest alarm, and much of its blackness had disappeared; there was a whiteness about it most extraordinary. The king said, ‘ You have come here as my friend, have witnessed all my customs, and shared good-naturedly in the distribution of my cowries and cloths; I love you as my friend, and you have shown that an Englishman, like you, can bear patience, and have sympathy with the black man. I now give you your share of the victims, and present you with this man, who from henceforth belongs to you, to do as you like with him, to educate him, take him to England, or anything else you choose.’ The poor fellow was then lowered down, and the white band placed in my hands. The expression of joy in his countenance cannot be described; it said: ‘ The bitterness of death, and such a death, is passed, and I cannot comprehend my position.’ Not a sound escaped his lips, but the eye told what the heart felt, and even the king himself participated in his joy. The chiefs and people cheered me as I passed through them with the late intended victim behind me.”

The “ customs” were concluded by a day of firing, when all the soldiers, under their different leaders, marched past the king in review order. The king danced with his Amazons, and invited the visitors to join. While the “ customs” last the king does not transact any public business.

On the afternoon of Friday, the 16th of January, the king asked the Commodore to review his Life Guardsmen and women, and he then made him colonel over the whole of them, about one thousand strong each—an honor for which the new colonel had to pay dearly, according to the custom of the country.

Speeches were made by the captains, who were introduced separately, the whole tenor of which was, what they would do at Abbeokuta, and the number of heads that would fall to Mr. Wilmot’s share. The following day, Saturday, the 17th, the king saw them in private, as before, and gave his answer to the message. He commenced by saying how glad he was that a messenger had been sent, who, by his patience and forbearance had shown himself a friend to the black man. He then entered into a long history of his country in the time of his ancestors, and stated how anxious his father was to be friends with the English. He said that for many years past

(he did not know why) the English seemed to be hostile to him, and endeavored to make all nations in Africa fight against him. He said that the slave trade had been carried on in his country for centuries, and that it was his great means of living and paying his people. He did not send slaves away in his own ships, but "white men" came to him for them, and was there any harm in his selling? We ought to prevent the "white men" from coming to him; if they did not come he would not sell. We had seen what a great deal he had to give away every year to his people who were dependent on him; and that this could not be done by selling palm oil alone. If people came for palm oil he would sell it to them; but he could not carry on his Government upon trade alone. If he gave up the slave trade, where was he to get money from? It was not his fault that he sold slaves, but those who made his fathers do it, and hence it became an institution of his country. He said, "I cannot stop it all at once; what will my people do? And besides this, I should be in danger of losing my life." Being asked how much money he would take to give it up, he replied, "No money will induce me to do so; I am not like the Kings of Lagos, Porto Novo, and Benin. There are only two kings in Africa, Ashantee and Dahomey; I am the king of all the blacks. Nothing will recompence me for the slave trade." He said there were plenty of blacks to sell, and plenty to remain; and that the price of a slave was eighty dollars, with four dollars custom on each. On most occasions he is paid before the slaves are taken away, but sometimes he risks the payment, and then he suffers by the capture of the slave-ship. He said "I must go to Abbeokuta; we are enemies; they insulted my brother, and I must punish them. Let us alone; why interfere in black man's wars? We do not want 'white men' to fight against us; let every one go out of Abbeokuta, and see who will win. Let the 'white man' stand by and see which are the brave men!" He spoke strongly of Porto Novo, and said, "If my friends the English had sent to me, I would have broke Porto Novo for them." He promised faithfully to spare all the Christians, and send them to Whydah, and that his generals should have strict orders to that effect.

When asked about the Christians at Ishagga, he said, "Who knew they were Christians? The black man says he is a white man, calls himself a Christian, and dresses himself in clothes. It is an insult to the white man. I respect the white man, but these people are imposters, and no better than my own people. Why do they remain in a place when they know that I am coming? If they do so, I suppose they are taking up arms against me, and I am bound to treat them as enemies. If a musket-ball touches the white man at Abbeokuta, am I to blame if they will not go away when they know I am coming?"

Mr. Wilmot reasoned with him no longer on this subject, because he thought "his observations so thoroughly just and honest." The

next subject was the "human sacrifices." He said, you have seen that only a few are sacrificed, and not the thousands that wicked men have told the world. If I were to give up this custom at once, my head would be taken off to-morrow. These institutions cannot be stopped in the way you propose. By-and-by, little by little, much may be done; softly, softly, not by threats. You see how I am placed, and the difficulties in the way; by-and-by, by-and-by." As to the embassy, he said he would send a prince to England, if Mr. Wilmot came again and gave him the Queen's answer to what he had stated. With regard to the schools at Whydah, the king said, "Any of the mulattoes may send their children."

After the interview, which lasted some time, the king made several presents: namely, for the Queen a large umbrella, made of different colored velvets, with the devices emblematic of their customs; a large carved stool, which no one but kings are allowed to possess; a pipestick and bag; a bag made from the leather of the country, with a lion worked upon it; a very handsome country cloth, and a long stick ornamented with silver, which can only be carried by the king; also two girls, one about twelve, the other sixteen, very pretty and intelligent. These last were left by the Commodore at Whydah, in charge of the colored missionary's wife there, until the wishes of her Majesty on the subject can be ascertained. The girls were taken at Ishagga, and seemed to be very interesting.

They found the population very scanty. After they had left Whydah, every soldier in the place went on to Abomey to swell the numbers there. There was not a man to be seen on their return, none but women and children. On the whole, there are far more women than men, probably three to one, which may be the reason why the Kings of Dahomey, who are always at war, are obliged to raise and keep up the Amazons, or "women soldiers," to the extent that they do.

The Amazons are everything in this country. The king lives with them and amongst them; they are only to be found in the royal palaces. When they go out to fetch water, which is every day, and nearly all day, the one in front (for all follow in single line) has a bell round her neck, much like a sheep bell in England, which she strikes whenever any person is seen approaching. Immediately the men run away in all directions, and clear the road by which the Amazons are coming. They then wait till all have passed. The reason for this is, that if an accident were to happen to any one of these women, either by her falling down and breaking the water-jar on her head, or if the water-jar fell off her head, the unfortunate man who happened to be near at the time would be immediately seized, and either imprisoned for life or have his head taken off, as it would be supposed that he was the cause of the accident. No wonder, then, that they get out of the way as quickly as possible. The Commodore and his friends were always obliged to follow this custom, but women are not expected to avoid them in this manner.

All day long the sound of this bell is heard, and people are seen flying away. The Amazons seemed to enjoy it, and laughed heartily when the men stepped aside to avoid them.

Whatever may be the object in thus keeping up such a large body of "women soldiers," there is no doubt that they are the main stay of the kingdom. Mr. Wilmot put down the number at 5,000; and besides these there are numerous women to attend upon them as servants. He saw 4,000 under arms at Abomey, and there are more in other parts of the kingdom, residing in the royal palaces. He thinks they are far superior to the men in everything—in appearance, in dress, in figure, in activity in their performances as soldiers, and in bravery. Their numbers are kept up by young girls of thirteen or fourteen years of age being attached to each company, who learn their duties from them; they dance with them, sing with them, and live with them, but do not go to war with them until they have arrived at a certain age, and can handle a musket. These women seem to be fully aware of the authority they possess, which is seen in their bold and free manner, as well as by a certain swagger in their walk. Most of them are young, well looking, and have not that ferocity in their expression of countenance which might be expected from their peculiar vocation.

This report of Dahomey is one of the most curious bits of reading produced during the London season.

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#### DR. LIVINGSTONE'S AFRICAN EXPEDITION.

The London Times publishes the following extract of a letter from Dr. Livingstone, dated River Shire, February 20, 1863, giving the latest news of his expedition :

Of late affairs have taken an entirely new phase, or rather we have had our eyes opened to see that the old system, which has kept this region shut up from all the good influences, is still in operation, and quite capable of rendering all our labor of no avail. The slave hunting system has come across our path, and has nearly quite depopulated the valley of the Lower Shire. You may have heard that certain slave dealers came along Dr. Kirk's path, from Tette to this river—instigated one tribe against another, and were paid in captives, some of whom we liberated. The captives who escaped us are separated at Tette, the men retained, and the women and children sent up the Zambesi to buy ivory. A panic seized a population of a large district above the Cataracts. They fled to the Shire, leaving their fine gardens and grain behind them—a drouth and famine followed—thousands perished, and still die off daily. We counted thirty-two dead bodies as we steamed up, and these are nothing to those who perish in the villages, and die unburied, or those that

pass by at night or are devoured by alligators. Well, further down the river, in the country around Mount Clarendon, a half-caste marauder, called Marianno, has devastated and departed with, it is said, about a thousand armed slaves; and where last year we could purchase any amount of fresh provisions and cotton at the cheapest rate. Captain Wilson, of H. M. S. Gordon, thought that a hundred tons of cotton could be collected from that valley and the hills adjacent; we saw not a single village, only here and there a few miserable wretches striving to keep soul and body together by fishing and collecting the seeds of grasses. Our labor is very much increased by this depopulation, inasmuch as we must go at least three hundred miles for the food our native laborers require.

Another man, called Belshore, makes slave forays west of the Shire; and so does another, named Mello; and another called Jose St. Anna, higher up the Zambesi; and several parties of slave hunters are out south of Senna—any one with a few guns and slaves may do the same. No notice is taken of it by the authorities till the culprit is rich enough to stand a squeeze. He may then be imprisoned. It would be uncharitable to say that there is any mulcting; but he is released, and at liberty, after a short confinement, to begin again. This Marianno was sentenced to three years imprisonment for rebellion, and at least forty murders; came back, and was received as a guest of the Governor of Quillimane, till he "ran away," and his excellency ran after him, but, of course, could not catch him. This system has been going on for a long time, but we did not become aware of it, by actual observation, till lately, because the slaving which went on under the name of "French Free Emigration," was supplied by forays in the countries north and northwest of Quillimane.

You are probably not fully aware of what Lord Palmerston has done by his policy on the West Coast. Were he not in power, I could say a great deal more than, for fear of being set down as a "toady," I dare not now.

Mr. Wilson, an American missionary, who has written the best book I have seen on the West Coast, says that, had it not been for his policy, Africa as yet had scarcely been accessible to missionary labor. By means of the security which our squadron imparted, over twenty missions have been established, twenty dialects reduced to writing, and 12,006 communicants have been received by the different churches. Education is imparted to thousands of the young, and good influences are spreading inland. Lawful commerce has been increased from £30,000 annually to between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000, and more tonnage is employed in carrying it than ever was engaged in the slave trade, even in its palmiest days.

## Condition, views, and prospects of the people of color in the United States.

Amid the multiplying thoughts of the hour, a respectable clergyman, in one of the Border States, some months ago, published an article in the Presbyterian Quarterly Review, commending the President for his great act of emancipation, contending that "this, like many other of the acts of this truly great man, was wonderfully timely put forth at the moment the fullness of time—not too soon—and not too late; that the President had, by this act, lifted the moral sense of the nation to a position to which years could not otherwise have brought it, that freedom is the American watchword—freedom for all men."

Taking it for granted, then, that slavery in this country will sooner or later pass away, the writer proceeds to inquire, "What shall be the future condition of the colored race in this land?" The plan of Colonization, as suggested by the President, he regards as inadequate to meet the necessities of the case. He considers them here, in God's Providence, that they may be prepared and educated for their future homes in Africa. He is not blind to the difficulties which obstruct their liberation. There is no problem, in the writer's view, which approaches it in difficulty.

It is mentioned as an extraordinary thing by this writer, that the negro race in America is a Christian race. There are four millions of this race Christian in contra distinction to any other form of Christian belief. They are more a Protestant people. These blessings the writer does not ascribe to slavery, but as arising, in spite of it, from many other causes in a Christian country. How the freedom of slavery will be accomplished, and of their final destiny, the author observes:

In whatever way it is done, one thing we may expect, it will not be by the premeditated devices of men. The great works of God are not done in that way. Smaller and comparatively unimportant ones may be, but those which affect grand interests, and shape the history of the world, the Great Jehovah takes into His own hands, and brings them to pass so marvellously that all men shall recognise His power, and "Know His name." (Isa., 52, 6) "Therefore they shall know in that day that I am He that doth speak; behold it is I!" In the meanwhile it becomes all men reverently and obediently to be watching the movements of His Providence, to keep abreast of them, and boldly to take each new step as it is indicated, and as soon as it is. The end may come sooner, as it will probably be vastly easier in its coming than we have dared to hope.

Taking the fact of emancipation as fixed, and to be realized, and that there will here be a race of freedmen rapidly rising in civilization and enlightenment, we are confronted with the question—Is this country to be the ultimate home of this people? We answer no. We do not believe that this people were brought here that they might have a permanent residence. They were brought to this land for tutelage and trial.

He is here, not for America, but for Africa. He is here for a training that could not have been gotten there. When it is complete, he will go back and make the continent what it could never be without him. When, under the influences which have shaped his character and built him up, he has become a self-reliant, advanced Christian man, and he is ready and able to do something for his race, he will go back to do it.

Then will be Africa's time. Exploration, advancing commerce, and with it Christianity, will have prepared the way, as we see it now being made ready, and the negro race of this land will go back gradually, but with increasing rapidity, and by a natural and healthy emigration. Such emigration only could be permanently and extensively beneficial to a new land. The colonist must more or less be impelled by the native force of his own character to seek the new home. Africa must look for her Christianity and her civilization especially to her own sons. Like all other lands which are to be elevated, the power raising her must come from without. It seems to be the course of Divine Providence that new and heathen countries are to be civilized and Christianized by Christian Colonization; not commercial, but Christian colonies must go out to them. The colonists must not supplant and destroy the aboriginal inhabitants, nor must they come simply as teachers, but they must abide as those whose home is to be there, who as residents bring with them the arts and practices of civilized and Christian life, and whose extended and continued example illustrates the power and benefits of the life they bring.

This has been for the most part the course of events. No people rises alone and unaided from a state of barbarism. The early history of nations which have a history, usually begins with the coming of a colony, whether it be Phoenician, Cadmean, or Trojan. "Religion, law and letters are not indigenous, but exotic; in all the past career of man upon the globe one race hands the torch of science to another." Of no people must this be more true than of the African. If Africa is to be elevated, it must be by the infusion of life and power from without, and by means of colonies which bring with them the elements of life and power.

The colonist who brings this boon to Africa must be an African. Every year and every experiment renders this more clearly evident. The white missionary has done, and is doing, a noble, perhaps indispensable work, but the permanent results which are to be found over extensive regions must come from men whose race is similar to the people among whom they dwell, and with whom it can mingle freely and advantageously. Such a race has been preparing, and will be prepared by the overruling of God in this country.

At present the work of preparation is not complete. A few have been made partially ready, some fit for the work have gone, and by their success on the west coast of Africa, have shown what the people are capable of doing. A beginning has been made, but in the coming time it must have a new starting point. The Liberian colony, or any other which shall be formed, must rise from the position of a far distant place to which one is banished, to be the attractive spot which calls, and to which a manly energy and independence urges.

To send only the degrading and the low in intellect is not the method to elevate and enoble a new land. The stream will not rise higher than the fountain, and a slave, though free, cannot at once be a truly self-reliant man, least of all can he be a good teacher of self-reliance and progress. He must first teach himself, well as he may, before he can do much for others. The colonist must, if he carry good with him, be first elevated himself. Nor, on the other hand, can the isolated and exceptional cases of advancement and cultivation be spared from their brethren here.

For the most part, as can easily be seen would naturally be the case, the colonists who have hitherto gone have been the most energetic and intelligent. But in time to come such cannot all be spared; their example and aid are needed here to help the general rise. But if the time comes, and when it comes, that under the stimulus of freedom the colored race as a whole advances to the point which we think there is for in the future, individuals will not be of account; emigration passing along the track of commerce, and

commerce by its own great laws will set toward Africa, and in this way the problem of African Colonization, and of African history in America, will be fulfilled. All this may be very distant, many years may go by, though, fewer than perhaps we may imagine, but the Great God who guides the hours and their burden can bring it all about, and through one of the deepest crimes of history, the rebellion of to-day, hasten it in its coming. It will be like Him to make crime its own avenger, and both crime and vengeance illustrate His goodness and love.

It is also urged by this writer that the changes which have occurred, through slavery in the constitutions, complexion, and character of the negro, have unintentionally wrought for the benefit and elevation of the race, thus contributing to his preparation for freedom, and the great advantages it must confer upon his race.

The article from which we have made a few selections, indicates careful thought and observation, and in our present agitation, affords many arguments for thinking men. Those who have the most confidence in the scheme of African Colonization, have never imagined, that however vigorously prosecuted by public and private means, by the States and the General Government, that a large colored population would remain for years in the United States contributing to the general prosperity, and becoming educated for better advantages, a wider usefulness and higher honors in Africa. Nor can we see any very marked distinction between what our author calls emigration and the voluntary Colonization advocated by the President, and multitudes of our country. This may be sooner or later, more or less rapid, but the result will be the same. Our author likewise sees a manifest preparation of Africa for the reception of her long exiled children, while they are in a State of instruction and preparation to take possession of their great African inheritance.

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#### THE PERSECUTED COLORED PEOPLE OF NEW YORK.

That our free people of color have deeply felt the force of the present agitations and cherished expectations, not to be realized in this country, is probable, yet the more thoughtful among them cannot peruse the terrible course of things towards them in the late mob in New York, without a conviction that this is not the home destined for their rest and happiness.

A communication to the New York Herald thus describes the sufferings of of the colored residents of that city from the late mob:

The events of the past week have cast upon the world some three thousand people of color, homeless, penniless, and destitute. A large portion of these have been rescued by the police from the brutal and fiendish crowd, hunting them like wild beasts from their domiciles and through the streets and alleys of our cities. Some have found asylums at the station houses, and others are secreted in places of doubtful security. A large number have been carried by night to Blackwell's Island for safety. Hundreds are still lurking about the suburbs of the city, on Long Island, and in the woods along Harlem

river. Some have been rescued from under piers on the North and East rivers, where they were thrown in to drown. Parents are parted from children, and husbands and fathers have been murdered or driven without the city. In one instance, a father, after rescuing his family from his burning house, was thrown back into the flames and burned to death. In another instance, a child was taken from his mother's arms, and dashed into the rear yard, some forty feet. Many are bruised and maimed for life by fiendish outrages. The old and decrepit, in many instances, driven from sick beds, are lying on bare floors and the damp flagstones of station houses. They have been stripped of every article of clothing and furniture, which now make comfortable the homes of their persecutors.

With this harrowing recital I have only to ask the public of New York and country for aid. They only require to know the channels, to swell them to repletion. To aid them by food and clothing is the first necessity. They are in need of everything in the shape of clothing, particularly the women and children. I have, under the direction of the Police Commissioners, taken temporary charge of the fugitives. All articles of food or clothing may be sent to the office of Abraham Peal, No. 12, Center street.

Thank God the spirit of compassion and divine charity is not dead among the Christians of New York, and they are contributing freely and generously for these suffering people. Yet we trust that these people themselves will consider whether a regard for their highest welfare must not create the desire that they should escape from their enemies, and secure a home in a land where they may attain without interruption or opposition the richest blessings, and all the honors of human existence. Liberia opens to them its gates, and invites them to a nationality of safety, prosperity, improvement, and peace.

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#### FROM LIBERIA.

Alexander Crummell, a black man of liberal education, for several years minister of the Episcopal Church of Liberia, and at present professor in Liberia College at Monrovia, gives an account of the prosperous condition of the young Republic. The letter is from Monrovia, the national capital. He says:

"I was landed at Cape Palmas, and sailed up thence to Monrovia; and on the passage we stopped at all important places, save Bassa. I have never seen so much coffee prepared for shipment, in Liberia, as I saw at Simon. On my arrival here, I found equal zeal in this article in this country; and from every quarter I hear reports of preparation for a more extensive planting of coffee trees than has ever taken place before in the country."

After alluding to the opening of Liberia College, and the efforts being made to increase the efficiency of the schools for the instruction of the Congoes, the letter adds:

"I may not dismiss the case of the Congoes without adding that, in general, they are making progress in civilization and the knowledge of God. Of the twenty who are living at Cape Palmas, seven are members of the churches."

Mr. Crummell says:

"I send you a small box of cotton. Our interior natives are bringing in raw cotton for sale, as yet in but small quantities. One of my friends is purchasing it at the rate of about forty pounds per week. The cotton is purchased with trade goods, and costs, including transportation to Monrovia and ginning, the sum of ten cents per pound. The additional cost of trans-shipping would increase the price to twelve cents per pound."

The letter further states that about seventy-five miles from the coast fields of cotton are grown everywhere by the natives, and as we know cotton to be indigenous to this territory, the statement is doubtless correct. The most of this cotton is made into cotton clothes; but the natives can easily be induced to purchase English cotton goods, and instead of manufacturing to bring the raw material to the coast.

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#### DEATH OF AN AGED KAFFIR.

The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society have several missions among the Kaffirs of South Africa. Mr. Mabille, the missionary of Morijah, has the charge of a numerous flock, scattered over a very extensive district; more than three hundred adults have been brought to the saving knowledge of Christ. The last report of the station contains a very edifying account of an aged member of the Church:

Mr. Mabille having passed unexpectedly through the village in which she resided, was told that she was very ill, and not expected to live long. He at once went to see her. Hearing his voice she opened her eyes, and begged of her friends to turn her toward him. Peace was depicted on her face. Her countenance was that of a servant, quietly awaiting the arrival of her Master. "Lemina," said the missionary, "do you know me?" "Yes, I know you; speak to me." "Whom are you expecting?" "The Lord Jesus." "Will He come soon?" "Yes; he is very near." "What has he done for you?" "He has taken all my sins on himself, and carried them all away. Since I have given myself to him he has always guided and protected me. And now I shall soon be with him." Three days later a message brought to Mr. Mabille the news of the death of Lemina. An instant before her departure her brother-in-law, who is also a believer, inquired whether she had anything to express. "I have nothing new to say," was the ready answer: "Jesus is always for me the one who has carried away my sins; what will you have more? I am going; I do not fear death." Very soon after she exclaimed, "Heaven opens before me, full of glory! There is heaven opened! I am, entering into it!" These were her last words.

The funeral ceremonies of two brave colored men who fell at Fort Hudson, Captain John Crowder, of the First Louisiana Colored Regiment, and Captain Collan, took place in New Orleans, on the 28th and 29th of May last, and were truly imposing. They were interred with full military honors, and a vast concourse of people, amounting to thousands, attended them to the grave. What a contrast between the scenes witnessed about the same time in New Orleans and New York, says the correspondent of the Times.

We see with no small regret that Dr. Livingstone's expedition to the Zambesi and the adjoining regions of Eastern Africa is given up by the Eng-

lish Government. While the labors of Dr. Livingstone are applauded, the geographical discoveries made are not viewed by Government as of sufficient practical importance to warrant the continuance of the heavy expenditure required. The expedition is ordered home, and the Pioneer steamer to be given up to the Admiral of the station, and the accounts to be closed by the end of the year.

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The Newark Daily Advertiser mentions that, on the 14th of August, a council of ten Baptist Churches was convened in the First Baptist Church of that place, to ordain a colored missionary for Africa. The Rev. George E. How presided, and the Rev. D. T. Morsell was appointed Secretary :

"Clement Robinson (colored) was the candidate for ordination. He was a slave a few years since, in the employment of A. S. Shaffer & Co., Petersburg, Va., a branch of the house of Halsey & Hunter in this city. He was owned by a Dr. Spencer, who valued him at \$1,800, but in consideration of his feeling called, as he then did, to go to Africa and preach the Gospel to his countrymen, his owner consented to sell him for \$1,200. His owner and employees gave something, and then he came to this and other Northern cities, where he soon secured the requisite sum to buy his freedom. During the last four years he has been in a course of preparatory study at the Ashmun Institute, Pa., under the patronage of the N. J. Baptist Education Society. Recently he has been laboring with success as a teacher and preacher among the "Freedmen" in Alexandria, Va. His evidences of conversion and a call to the ministry, and views of doctrine being satisfactory, the council unanimously concluded to proceed to his ordination."

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The Society's ship, the Mary Caroline Stevens, is expected to sail from Baltimore for Liberia on the 1st of November. She has the best accommodations for some three hundred passengers, and a free passage and support for six months after their arrival in Liberia, are granted to all respectable persons of color, who may desire to find a home in that Republic. We hope all our friends will make known to our people of color the advantages and blessings to which they are invited. Application for a passage should be early made to Rev. William McLain, Financial Secretary of the Colonization Society, Washington, or to Dr. James Hall, Colonization Office, Baltimore.

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**SEVEN HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS.**—This was the amount of the receipts of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for their fiscal year just closed. Of this amount \$165,000 came from their foreign auxiliaries or from their missions abroad. We invite the particular attention of all missionaries to this fact.

The Society has, in various parts of the world, 605 principal stations, with 4,618 preaching places, and 889 ministers and assistant missionaries, who are assisted by a host of Sunday and day school teachers. 142,789 full and accredited members, and 13,804 probationers attend the services of the missionaries, and 146,457 scholars receive instruction in the Sunday and day schools.

MR. MULLER'S INSTITUTIONS AT BRISTOL, ENGLAND.—In the last report issued by George Muller, the founder of the Orphan Houses on Ashleydown, Bristol, the following paragraph occurs :

Without any one having been personally applied to for anything by me, the sum of £158,732 11s. 5½d. has been given me for the orphans, as the result of prayer to God, since the commencement of the work, which sum includes the amount received for the building fund for the houses already built. It may be also interesting to the reader to know that the total amount which has been given for other objects since the commencement of the work amounts to £68,731 6s. 11½d., and that which has come in by the sale of Bibles since the commencement amounts to £2,830 11s. 11½d.; by the sale of tracts, £4,847 16s. 0½d.; and by the payment of the children in the day schools, from the commencement, £2,468 8s. 6d. Besides this, also a great variety and number of articles of clothing, furniture, provisions, &c., have been given for the use of the orphans.—*Bath and Chiltenham Gazette.*

Rev. Mr. Evans, pastor of the First Presbyterian Colored Church in Washington, writes that his church have paid off a debt of nearly \$6,000. He says: "One member of the church paid for his freedom the sum of \$3,000; his wife also paid for hers the additional sum of \$600. They live in their own house, and have educated seven daughters in the city of Boston."

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## RECEIPTS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

*From the 20th of July to the 20th of August, 1863.*

### MAINE.

*Portland*—From Mrs. Eliphalet Greely, through the hands of Eben Steele, Esq.. 50 00  
By Rev. F. Butler, (\$172.) viz:

*Augusta*—Jolin Door, \$5. E.  
A. Nason, Cash, each \$3.  
Benjamin Davis, Rev. B.  
Tappan, D. D., S. Deering,  
each \$2. A. B. Williams,  
D. Willians, Cash, L. M.  
Leland, E. Fenno, Cash,  
Rev. A. McKenzie, ea. \$1..

*Bangor*—Hon. Samuel H. Dale, \$5. Hon. G. W. Pickering, \$6. Dea. E. F. Duran, \$2. M. Schwartz,  
Sam'l. Clark, Cash, ea. \$1..

*Brewer*—Dea. Jeremiah Skinner, Capt. Joshua Chamberlin, each \$1.....

*Brunswick*—Rev. Prof. Samuel C. Upham, D. D., \$4. Rev.

Prof. Leonard Woods, D.		
D., Prof. A. S. Parkard, each \$2.....	8 00	
<i>Gardiner</i> —Rt. Rev. George Burgess, D. D., Hon. R. H. Gardiner, each \$5		
Robert Thompson, H. B. Hoskins, each \$1.....	12 00	
<i>Hallowell</i> —Colonel Andrew Masters, \$5. C. Spalding, \$1.....	6 00	
<i>Hampaen</i> —Benjamin Crosby, \$5 .....	5 00	
<i>Kennebunk</i> —Mrs. A. Titcomb, Mrs. H. P. Durrell & Son, J Titcomb, D. W. Lord, ea. \$10. Capt. C. Thompson, \$6. Colonel James M. Stone, Mrs. Lucy W. Stone, W. B. Sewall, each \$5. C. Littlefield, Mrs. Mary L. Dane, Mrs. Tobias Lord, Rev. F. E. Fellows,		

each \$2. Mrs. C. L. Hayes, \$1 .....		First R. D Chnrch, \$26 30.
<i>Portland</i> —Cash, \$2. Samuel Chase, \$1.....	70 00	Second R. D. Church, Rev. P. D. Van Cleef, D. D., pastor, \$18 63.....
<i>Skowhegan</i> —His Excellency Abner Coburn.....	3 60	44 93
<i>Waterville</i> —Prof. G. W. Keely, \$6. Hon. Saml. Appleton, \$5 .....	15 00	
		107 67
	11 00	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.
		Miscellaneous ..... 454 16
	172 00	OHIO.
		Legacy of Daniel Everert, deceased, late of Nelson, Portage county, received from P. B. Conant, Esq., Ravenna, Ohio, viz: bal- ance of said legacy, \$70, added by Mr. Conant for interest while it lay in his hands. \$5 .....
	4 00	75 00
<i>Bristol</i> —Donation from “Two Ladies,” \$2 each.....	30 00	<i>Cedarville</i> — Collection July 5, 1863, in Reformed Pres- byterian Church, Rev. J. F. Martins, received from H. M. Nisbet, Esq.....
<i>Concord</i> —From New Hamp- shire Colonization Society pr. L. D. Stevens, Treas- urer, \$20, and this sum to complete subscription of life membership of Rev. D. Goodhue, \$10.....	34 00	17 55
		<i>Morning Star</i> —Rev. G. Mc- Millan, collection in his Church.....
By Rev. F. Butler, (\$39,) viz :		5 75
<i>Essex</i> —Estate of Nathan Lo- throp, deceased, from B. B. Butler and A. G. Wat- kins, Exr.....	39 00	<i>Claridon</i> —Emily Bradley.....
	5 00	<i>East Cleveland</i> —A. G. Smith, \$10. Augusta Baldwin, \$1. R.C.Smith, \$2. C.R.Smith, \$5. Sarah Maclerath, \$1...
<i>Middletown</i> —Mrs. Sarah Spencer .....	29 64	<i>Kirtland</i> —Harriet Martindale, \$10. Artemus Carroll, \$3. Mrs. A. T. Axtell, \$10. Austin Dayton, \$5.....
<i>Fairfield</i> —Annual collection in First Cong. Church and Society, received from S. A. Nichols, Treasurer.....		28 00
By Rev. J. Orcutt, (\$17 98:)		<i>Huntsbury</i> — Deborah Bald- win.....
<i>Stafford</i> —E. H. Hyde, E. Fairman, each \$5. Mrs. M. B. Harvey, \$2. Geo. M. Puffer, L. Bugbee, Mrs. Salisbury, each \$1. Others, \$2 98.....	17 98	5 00
	52 62	<i>Cleveland</i> —Dan Warner.....
		<i>Hampden</i> —B. H. Ingraham..
		<i>Braceville</i> —David Humphrey.
		<i>Deerfield</i> —Rachel Hartsell...
		5 00
		174 30
		FOR REPOSITORY.
		<i>MAINE</i> — <i>Augusta</i> —Edward Rouse, for 1863.....
		1 00
		<i>NEBRASKA</i> — <i>Omaha</i> —John Harris, for 2 years.....
		2 00
		Total Repository..... 3 00
		Donations ..... 515 59
		Legacies ..... 114 00
		Miscellaneous ..... 454 16
		Aggregate..... 1,086 75
<i>NEW JERSEY</i> .		
By Rev J. Orcutt. (\$107.67:)		
<i>Newark</i> —Collection in Se- cond Presbyterian Church, \$51 34. A Friend, \$10, to constitute Rev. J. Few Smith, D. D., and J. Reeve Sayre, life members, \$61 34. First Baptist Church, \$1 40.....		
<i>Jersey City</i> —Collection in		





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